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THE ARYAN PATH

Point out the "Way"—however dimly, and lost among the host—as does the evening star to those who tread their path in darkness.
—*The Voice of the Silence*

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AN IMMORTAL PAMPHLET

THE CHARTER OF THE FOURTH ESTATE

[Appropriate to this month are these two articles on Milton's *Areopagitica* —a piece of immortal literature which every dreamer of a new order and every builder of a new world should read, mark, learn and inwardly digest. Even a cursory perusal will bring to the lips the lines Wordsworth wrote in 1802 :—

Milton ! thou shouldst be living at this hour :
England hath need of thee....—ED.]

I.—By J. MIDDLETON MURRY

In May, 1643, John Milton married a girl of 17,—exactly half his own age. After about a month of uncomfortable life together, his young wife returned to her home and stayed there. But even before she had gone her husband had begun to write a treatise on "The doctrine and discipline of Divorce," in which from a high argument on the nature of marriage as a meeting of souls and minds he came to the conclusion that the husband who was disappointed of spiritual and mental companionship had a perfect right to be divorced from the wife who disappointed him.

In publishing his pamphlet he disregarded the new licensing law—or press censorship, as we should call it —which Parliament had promulgated just at the moment he was writing it. In the storm of criticism aroused by his revolutionary views on divorce it was not unnatural that his opponents should have demanded that he be called to account for disregarding the law. Though the authorities did nothing—for Milton was too eminent —he had come within measurable distance of having his heterodox opinions suppressed. Accordingly, he turned aside from his polemic on divorce to write and publish on November 24th, 1644, what is probably the most famous pamphlet in the English language: "Areopagitica : A Speech for the Liberty of

Unlicensed Printing."

It is famous rather by reason of the extraordinary beauty and splendour of its prose-style, which clothes in fitting language what has come to be regarded as the noblest defence of the chief of all British liberties, than because it achieved any immediate effect. The censorship of Parliament was indeed less severe than had been the episcopal censorship of the Star Chamber; but neither under Parliament, nor the Protectorate, nor the Restoration was the censorship abolished. The freedom of the press was not firmly established as a British liberty until the second half of the eighteenth century.

The essence of Milton's position was that the liberty which all professed to be willing to accord to good books could be effectively secured only if the same liberty were accorded to bad books. Thus he cut away at a single stroke the unending tangle of arguments as to what constitutes a good book and who should decide it. Liberty for the good book necessitates liberty for the bad one. Not only was it impossible in practice to prevent the circulation of bad books, but it was actually harmful to the commonwealth to attempt to do so, because true virtue is not achieved by ignoring evil, but by contending with it. That is the context of one of the most famous, and certainly not the least magnificent of the sentences in *Areopagitica* wherein he says that he could not

praise a fugitive and cloistered virtue, unexercised and unbreathed, that never sallies out and sees her adversary, but slinks out of the race, where that immortal garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat.

That is the central theme of the *Areopagitica*. There is no virtue save in the free choice of the good. The recognition and vindication of that truth, Milton contended, was the spiritual content of the religious and political revolution to which England was now committed. The Reformation had stopped half-way; but now God was decreeing to begin some new and great period in His Church, even to the reforming of Reformation itself.

And the mark of the new period of the Church must be that it allowed freedom for every man to seek the truth, and utter his discovery. Rightly, he appealed not only to the authority of the illumined Reason but to the actual words of St. Paul, on whose authority the old Reformers had based themselves: "Prove all things: hold fast to that which is good." That was not addressed to a bench of Bishops, or to a board of Presbyters, but to every Christian man.

He appeals, too, to that other magnificent dictum of St. Paul: "To the pure, all things are pure."

They are not skilful considerers of human things, who imagine to remove sin by removing the matter of sin.... Though ye take from a covetous man all his treasure, he has yet one jewel left, ye cannot bereave him of his covetousness.

Suppose we could expel sin by this means: look how much we thus expel

of sin, so much we expel of virtue: for the matter of them both is the same: remove that and ye remove them both alike. This justifies the high providence of God, who, though he commands us temperance, justice, continence, yet pours out before us even to a profuseness all desirable things, and gives us minds that can wander beyond all limit and satiety. Why should we then affect a rigour contrary to the manner of God and of nature, by abridging or scanting those means, which books freely permitted are, both to the trial of virtue and the exercise of truth?

There is a wonderful buoyancy of movement in the *Areopagitica*. It is excited, yet controlled; light-hearted, yet profoundly serious. Never has the soul of a great revolutionary movement for liberty found more exalted or more intimate expression. In this magnificent, ornate yet flexible prose, all the riches of the English spirit at its noblest and most universal are poured forth in a gay abundance. What Wordsworth said in retrospect of his experience as a young man at the beginning of the French Revolution:—

Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive;
But to be young was very heaven—

we feel at first hand in the sinewy, voluptuous and irresistible music of the *Areopagitica*. To read it is to be taken, with generous open arms, into the very quick of the first great revolutionary movement of the Western world.

The spirit which Milton winged with such immortal words was no academic dream. It was made flesh. It really did animate the russet-coated band of brothers,—"who knew what they fought for and loved what they knew,"—who carried the Parliamentary cause to victory on the battlefield. Cromwell's army was, indeed, as its opponents averred, a hot-bed of "Independence": that is to say, a disciplined confraternity of religious Independents who claimed, and conceded, the right of each to worship God in his own fashion, and to utter the truth as he saw it. What Milton championed, they embodied.

Where there is much desire to learn, there of necessity will be much arguing, much writing, many opinions; for opinion in good men is but knowledge in the making. Under these fantastic terrors of sect and schism, we wrong the earnest and zealous thirst after knowledge which God hath stirred up in this city. What some lament of, we should rather rejoice at, should rather praise this pious forwardness among men to reassume the ill-deputed care of their religion into their own hands again. A little generous prudence, a little forbearance of one another, and some grain of charity might win all these diligences again to join and unite into one general and brotherly search after truth; could we but forgo this prelatical tradition of crowding free consciences and Christian liberties into canons and precepts of men.

Such was, in the main, the spirit of Cromwell's army. It is no wonder that, under the leadership of a general who shared that spirit, it should have routed—often against heavy odds and in desperate situations—not only the Royalist armies

which fought for the authority of the Bishops, but even the Covenanting armies of Scotland, which fought for the authority of the Presbyters.

The Licensing Law against which Milton fought was part of an attempt by the Presbyterian elements in the Long Parliament to enforce a new religious uniformity upon England. Parliament had rebelled against Archbishop Laud's attempt to enforce an Anglican uniformity upon England; it had itself succumbed to the temptation to enforce a Presbyterian uniformity. "New Presbyter is old Priest, writ large." Had that attempt of the Presbyterians not been frustrated, it is certain that the Parliamentary forces would have been beaten. Not merely because, as between an Anglican and a Presbyterian uniformity, England preferred the Anglican; but because there was no possibility of raising an army of English enthusiasts to fight in such a cause. The fighting would have had to be done by the Scots, whose zeal for the Covenant still burned, but not so bright as that of the Englishmen for their "Independence."

There is, therefore, something profoundly and ineradicably English in the *Areopagitica*. It is the voice of a great moment in English history. Its universality is of that rare quality which is attained only when a universal value is incarnate in the striving of a particular nation. Sometimes the inspired patriotism of Milton touches a kind of sublime naïvety:—

Now once again by all concurrence of signs...God is decreeing to begin some new and great period in His Church....What does he then but to reveal himself to his servants, and as his manner is, first to his Englishmen?

At that, I suppose, all save Englishmen must laugh; and Englishmen themselves cannot forbear to smile. But the Englishman's smile is one of admiring affection, of intimate and loving understanding. And, if he be something of a historian, he will say to himself that Milton was not mistaken when he felt with such certainty that the divine purpose was being revealed to Englishmen and in the works of Englishmen. The spirit which he interpreted in *Areopagitica* has been the great contribution of England to the cause of human freedom. England was the first nation to break, as a body, through the idea and practice of authoritarianism. At one stroke, by the revolutionary movement of which Milton was the prophet in words, it broke the charmed circle of the divine right of kings, to set a simple country squire upon the throne of England, and made freedom of conscience, and freedom of utterance, a reality in the Western world. True, it was to take another two centuries before those freedoms were fully established. But England after that beneficent upheaval could not return to the past, nor "undo the done." That freedom might be a reality was never thereafter lost from the knowledge of the purposes of Englishmen, nor—through them—

of the world.

The liberty with which Milton himself was chiefly concerned was the freedom of religious opinion and religious enquiry. He belonged to an age when Christian Theology was still, in England as in Europe, *scientia scientiarum:* The science of sciences. It was therefore for the purification of theology, metaphysical and moral, that Milton mainly laboured; and in this realm he chiefly feared the repressiveness of a new censorship based on a new ecclesiastical dogmatism. His own theological principle was, at bottom, simple enough: it was an appeal to the supreme virtue manifested and inculcated by the incarnate God; the virtue of charity, as exemplified in the great saying: "The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath." For Milton, Christianity was, originally and eternally, a religion of freedom, which had been perverted by the interests of power—falsely represented as order—into a vast moral and spiritual tyranny.

To seek the truth with a single-minded devotion and to expound it fearlessly was of the essence of Christianity, as Milton understood it: to prevent or disable the prosecution of such free inquiry a cardinal sin against Christianity. From such a starting-point every position of traditional theology could be turned with ease, wherever it forbade freedom of thought. Christian liberty itself is the liberty of error. Christian orthodoxy, unless it is an orthodoxy that is completely tolerant towards the heretic, is a contradiction in terms.

Much persecution was to be endured, when the Commonwealth was ended, by the Papists on the one side and the Dissenters on the other, before the traditional notion that religious conformity was a necessary condition of full citizenship was finally abolished even in England. Indeed it lingered on until well into the second half of the nineteenth century. It was only in the 1870's that full membership of the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge was thrown open to non-members of the Church of England. It took more than 200 years for Milton's prophecy of liberty of opinion to be realised in England; and not even yet is his doctrine of divorce for temperamental disparity established there.

As was to be expected, these liberties have been more fully achieved in the great nation that arose out of the New England, founded by men of Milton's persuasion who crossed the ocean to secure religious liberty. But even in the United States they are continually challenged, and have to be continually reasserted. At the moment that I write an unanimous decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, allowing an appeal against the judgment of a lower court revoking the naturalization of a German-born citizen for expressing his sympathies with Nazism, is reported in these terms:

One of the prerogatives of American citizenship is the right to criticise public men and public measures—and

that means not only informed and responsible criticism, but the freedom to speak foolishly and without moderation.

That judgment is in the true Miltonic tradition.

J. MIDDLETON MURRY

II.—By V. M. INAMDAR

Three hundred years ago this month was published in England a remarkable book. It was a "speech by one Mr. Milton for the liberty of unlicensed printing," known as *Areopagitica*. All through the thirty intervening decades, the work has enjoyed a prestige second only to that enjoyed by his more purely literary *magnum opus, Paradise Lost*. *Areopagitica* has been rightly hailed as the Magna Carta of the publishing profession; the charter of the Fourth Estate. Like all classics it has a perennial relevance to contemporary affairs. Each age has found in it an expression, exalted and magnificent, of its own protest against suppression, a plea for freedom ready formulated whenever the inherent right of a citizen to freedom of speech has been in jeopardy. The *Areopagitica* has come to seem only incidentally a polemical document of seventeenth-century England. With the enormous expansion of the publishing profession and the need which governments everywhere increasingly plead to restrict expression of opinion, the question which the work discusses continues to be vital. If today *Areopagitica* has significance for us, therefore, it is not simply as the great work of a great writer; it has significance primarily because the problem which it faces has not yet been solved. It is unlikely that it should ever be solved unless a perfect democracy were to be established. *Areopagitica* is a document of democracy; a testament of liberty, of complete and honest self-expression, whether the ruling government like it or not.

In this discourse Milton addressed the "Lords and Commons of England," attacking their recent order that "no book...shall be henceforth printed unless the same be first approved by such...as shall thereto be appointed." Such words or worse are not unfamiliar to us in India and no sooner do we come across Milton's vehement protest against the injustice of such autocracy than we feel he is pleading for us before Parliament and, if Parliament heed not, before the bar of the world.

Referring to immediate historical precedent, he argues that licensing was practised chiefly by those whom the Presbyterian government most detested, *viz.*, the Papacy and the Inquisition. He cites Moses, Daniel, St. Paul and the Church Fathers who had upheld, by precept and example, full freedom in the pursuit of learning. Governments obstructed the steady development of all-

round virtue by restricting the choice of reading. If the licensing order was an attempt to keep out evil doctrine, it was folly, Milton argues. Such an attempt is as ridiculous as "the exploit of that gallant man who thought to pound up the crows by shutting his park gate." Licensing can do no good. It is a grave "discouragement and affront" to learning and he cites the case of the imprisoned Galileo. He closes with a majestic exhortation to the Lords and the Commons of England to consider "what nation it is whereof ye are, and whereof ye are the governors...." He passionately defends the basic right of every citizen in a democracy when he demands: "Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties."

It is this concluding plea that makes *Areopagitica* a living document today. How many of us have "the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience"? For India the question is poignant and bitter. From the early days of the East India Company when journalism took its birth in this country, right up to this fifth decade of the twentieth century, the conflict between free expression on the one hand and its suppression in the name of political expediency on the other has been so continuous that the story of Indian journalism is a story of a losing fight in an unending tug-o'-war.

The political history of the country—first in the process of British expansion and consolidation, then in the ever-tightening grip on the acquisition—has often seemed to render suppression of free speech necessary to the docility desirable for the "peaceful" administration of a subject country. Moreover Indian journalism, in its younger days devoted primarily to social reform, has today attained full-fledged political stature and is directed primarily to serving the nation's cause. This has brought it more to the forefront of governmental attention so that even under normal circumstances journalism speaks only with the censor's scissors always at its throat. In times of stress like these, free expression is unknown and whatever is to reach the public has first to be "approved by such...as shall thereto be appointed."

The *Areopagitica* asks the fundamental question: How far is any government justified in stifling the free voice of the people? Milton's answer is a challenge to the political autocracy of any rule that thus alienates the "government" from the people and so destroys the very basis of democracy.

By the measure in which a people is denied the right to say what it thinks and feels, is to be gauged the the measure of its co-operation with or willing acceptance of the ruling government. Democracy as a humane and reasonable political institution can under no circumstances countenance a fundamental disagreement

between a government and the people living under it. Even in countries where so-called democracy prevails, the people enjoy only a limited and comparative freedom so that they can never step outside the ring-fence of official restriction. In a country like India, where vast populations are governed against their will, recognition of such a democratic right as that for which the *Areopagitica* pleads cannot be hoped for. What little freedom is enjoyed by the press is but concession and camouflage.

But despite the recognition that the press—as a forum of public opinion—not only can create and educate public opinion, but can also operate as a political power, the protest is heard today, gaining in intensity from every suppressed nation in the world. Inside a state the press is a political power; outside, it can arraign any government before the bar of world opinion. That is why exploiting governments everywhere first strangle the voice of a people, lest its protest and demand should reach a wider hearing. It is against such and many similar injustices that Milton sounds his warning. If the *Areopagitica* has any specific message and meaning for India to-day it is this, that the noble document demanding a human right with a fiercely magnificent eloquence should inspire each one of us to demand as fearlessly and firmly as Milton did: "Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties."

V. M. INAMDAR

EVIL SPEAKING

Sadi, Shakespeare, Addison and Steele and Sheridan all have condemned gossip and criticism in no doubtful terms, but mostly from the stand-point of the harm done to its victims. Maurice Maeterlinck, the aged Belgian playwright, condemns evil-speaking primarily from the point of view of the evil-speaker. Katherine Woods translates his telling essay, "Speak No Evil," in *Tomorrow* for May 1944. Evil-speaking he sees as a public confession of one's own weaknesses.

> This evil flame whose reflection we see falling upon others is actually lighted within ourselves. Each one of us ferrets out among his friends and acquaintances the depravity or weakness which to the perspicacious reveals itself as his own.

But more, we draw to ourselves the evil we attribute to the victims of our gossip. Cumulatively, he warns, it will more and more colour our thoughts and dictate our actions. In our own interest, he urges, we ought to form the habit of judging all men as we judge heroes. In the presence of a great deed, of a great sacrifice, the tongue of gossip is still, though in any band of heroes the human vices and weaknesses might doubtless be discovered upon search. M. Maeterlinck reminds us that the nature of our heroes in the mass was in no way different from that of our fellows whom we vilify. He voices a great truth when he deduces that "we are after all beyond doubt better men than we seem to be."

THE ART OF LEADERSHIP

[Leadership as it is generally looked upon today is a distortion of the archetypal pattern found in the divine dynasties of universal ancient tradition. It is apparent from **Prof. Diwan Chand Sharma's** contrast of the concepts of the leader in the East and in the West that the East is nearer to the old ideal. To this day the masses in the East are ready to acclaim as leader him alone who towers morally above the common run of men; for how can he who has not conquered self assume the leadership of other men?

It is a disservice to youth that in the East as in the West our world of topsyturvy values holds up leadership to the ambitious as a prize to be striven for and, once attained, retained. Youth needs to be encouraged not to demand a major rôle but to aspire to play well whatever part falls to his lot upon the stage of life. Leadership is not a privilege to be sought or to be clung to; it is a responsibility to be met when and for as long as the times demand it of the individual. Those upon whom the heavy task of leadership is laid are relatively few. The qualities the leader needs, however, should be held up for all to recognise and emulate. For, as Whitehead has truly said, "Moral education is impossible without the habitual vision of greatness." Thus not only will the future leader be ready for his part but the rest also will be fitted with discrimination to select a leader worthy of the rôle. Then we may hope that loyal and intelligent co-operation will replace blind following, which is as harmful to the leader as to the led.—ED.]

When the last world war was over a famous English educationist said that the aim of education should be to produce leaders. He believed that no democracy could function properly unless it had leaders of the right kind to make decisions, to conduct operations, to initiate policies and to inaugurate programmes. Democracy and leadership are thus vitally bound up together. It remains, however, for us to see how our schools, colleges and universities can become the nurseries of leadership.

Before we do so, we should be clear in our minds about what we mean by a leader. Says André Maurois, "The most important quality in a leader is that of being acknowledged as such." This seems to be pretty vague but none-the-less it contains a profound truth. It only means that a leader has to be a person of outstanding importance, one who stands head and shoulders above others. He is one to whom others look up for counsel and guidance, and under whose banner they rally for a particular end. He is a person to whom people turn in their hour of need, and who is their benefactor in one way or another. There is something god-like about a leader, and

without being divine he possesses some of the attributes of divinity; he assumes many forms and renders different kinds of service, but always and everywhere he is the focus of the hopes of many. People turn to God in the hour of illness, they pray to Him in their distress, they exhort Him to bless their undertakings; in the same way a leader is expected to resolve difficulties, to solve problems and to make life more livable.

It is, however, strange to find that the conception of leadership in the East has been so different from that in the West. The Asiatics have generally associated leardership with prophets, saints and philosophers, thereby showing that in their eyes it is only spiritual or moral leadership that matters. They have reasons for doing so, because Asia has been the home of prophets of world-wide renown, of philosophers of universal sympathies and of saints of a transcendent purity of life. All these have directed their efforts chiefly at moulding the individual life. They have pointed to a way of living which can bring peace and happiness here and hereafter. In a sense, they have cared more for other-worldliness than for material values.

In the West, however, things have been different. There the aim has been not so much the conversion of the individual as the better organisation of society. Moreover, leaders have aimed at improving the conditions of life. A great Victorian said that that man was to be honoured most who could make two blades of grass grow where only one had grown before, showing thereby that the environment in which man lived, his economic life and the political institutions under which he worked must be improved. We have, therefore, in the West political thinkers, social workers, economists, industrialists and scientists who have tried to work for better living conditions. All this they have sought to do in various ways, but chiefly through legislative measures, social amelioration and industrial development.

There is a difference, moreover, not only in the ends aimed at but also in the methods of pursuing them. A philosopher in the East has ever been content to expound his doctrines to a band of select disciples and has depended on them for the propagation of his ideas. He has followed the method of slow and gradual infiltration, but in the West it is different. There a leader cannot afford such casual methods but must resort to more efficient and organised ones. He must have recourse to propaganda; he must build up an organisation for popularising his aims. In other words, a mere idea is not enough; for its dissemination and perpetuation one must create an organization and must try to enlist adherents, supporters and sympathisers. It is no wonder that a great man of today has said that one who wants to be a leader must be not only a theorist but also an organizer and a person capable of winning over others.

All this is leadership on a big

scale, and all these remarks perhaps apply to those persons who are capable of giving a new direction to human affairs. We are not, however, thinking of these great leaders who are perhaps born to leadership. We are trying to find out what qualities go with leadership and how they can be acquired. When we think of leaders, we do not have in mind such great men as Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Churchill, Mr. Stalin and Marshal Chiang Kai-shek, but humbler people who are content to play their parts on a smaller stage. Nor do we equate leadership with statesmanship, generalship or allied abilities. People who shape the destinies of a nation, persons who lead armies to victory, executives who build up mammoth organisations, industrialists who satisfy the needs of mankind, men of thought who disseminate new ideas in the world, all these are beyond our ken. We think of humbler people, who are content to serve rather than to wield the big stick. We have in mind those people who want to be the first in service and not in anything else. This service also they want to do in a very unpretentious manner and as best as they can. They do not devise panaceas for the ills of the world but try to cultivate the small plot that lies before them. In other words, we want those who will humbly serve and not proudly lead.

All leaders, to be sure, are servants in one way or another, but of all types of leadership the best is that which is beneficent. Statesmen and generals are forgotten but the servants of humanity are remembered. A Lincoln or a Confucius or a Shaftesbury or a Ranade is more valuable to mankind than an Alexander or a Napoleon. Such leaders as the latter are adored only as long as their services are needed. The moment their capacity for usefulness is doubted, they are thrown on the scrap-heap.

True leadership, therefore, means dedication to some noble cause and unremitting toil in its service. It means dull drudgery, patient work, unflinching perseverance, unassuming modesty and not spectacular heroism. But this requires training as anything else; for one born leader there are a million potential leaders who require to be trained. This is a truth that the Nazis have learnt, though their conception of leadership is perverse and destructive. In their schools and universities, their labour camps and other places they have tried to train people for leadership. This does not mean that we should give similar training. It only shows that some kind of training is necessary.

It has been well said that the art of leadership means the art of disciplining oneself so that one can discipline others. The Koran asks, "Do you prescribe what you do not yourself follow?" A leader cannot expect others to do what he is himself incapable of doing. Yet the word discipline has acquired such an offensive odour that people get

frightened by it. Says a writer :—

If I were to ask you what you mean by a disciplinarian it is just possible that you would conjure up in your mind someone slightly harsh, rather cast-iron; someone prone to reprimand, to find fault, even to snap; someone without much sense of humour, and with little of the gift of kindliness. But the picture thus drawn is of a martinet with a tendency towards being a bully; it bears no relationship to what a disciplinarian should be.

A disciplinarian need not be an odious person, nor discipline irksome. There are instances of leaders who have imposed discipline on men without making themselves offensive. Such a great leader was Abraham Lincoln whose motto was, "With malice towards none, with charity for all." Such a leader was also Nelson, about whom Southey wrote :—

Never was any commander more beloved, he governed men by their reason and their affections; they knew that he was incapable of caprice and tyranny and they obeyed him with alacrity and joy, because he possessed their confidence as well as their love.

It is therefore to be remembered that leadership by persuasion is much better than leadership by force. In the same way it should be realised that the way of disciplining men is not the usual way. A writer has put this idea beautifully :—

This then is the function of the teacher—not to cram, to hear lessons and to direct, but to inspire, to suggest, to utilise, and to bless. A policy of this kind would reconstruct the school, would bring salvation to the so-called dullard or dunce, and would lift every pupil into an atmosphere of higher achievement and ethical culture. Its realization lies directly before the school of today.

So leadership consists in getting the best out of people, not for oneself but for some cause. It also implies the art of directing the energies of people towards an end, but in such a way that they do not feel they are being coerced.

There is a desire for leadership in the hearts of many. But this desire should be turned in a new direction. It should not be a craving for dominating over others but an ardent wish to serve others. It should at the same time be realised that the service of others implies training, method and mastery of the art of handling people. At our educational institutions all these things should be inculcated, at least indirectly. There is a great deal of work to be done in this world, and for that the dynamic energies of youth should be utilised. But before they are turned loose upon the world, they must be trained.

The question to be decided is along what lines this training should proceed. I believe it should be conducted on all the planes on which the human personality functions. This training should be conducive to the development of physical fitness, mental alertness, ethical soundness and social constructiveness. It should make the body sensitive and strong, the mind receptive and elastic. It

should also humanise the student so that he will care more for ethical ends than for selfish and utilitarian objectives. Above all, it should fill him with a desire for social amelioration. It should engender not merely social pity but also a passion for social justice. Initiative and resourcefulness should be encouraged but the attempt should also be made to utilise these qualities for constructive ends.

DIWAN CHAND SHARMA

Sasta Worship in South India. By L. K. BALA RATNAM, with a Foreword by RAO BAHADUR C. S. SRINIVASACHARI. (Travancore University Co-operative Stores, Ltd., Trivandrum. Rs. 3/-)

Sasta worship in South India centres about a deity claiming popular worship and pilgrimage from many devotees. The cult has a long history and opinion is divided whether the god Sasta is an apotheosis of the Buddha introduced into the Hindu pantheon or a pre-Aryan deity of popular worship imported into Kerala from the Tamil country. Shri Bala Ratnam with other eminent scholars leans towards the latter view. In this small monograph he gives an informative account of the principles and the practice of the cult against a briefly sketched historical background. It is interesting to note that devotees on pilgrimage to the Sasta temple in Kerala observe no distinctions of caste, colour or condition.

V. M. I.

Selections from Swami Vivekananda. (Swami Pavitrananda, Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora. Rs. 6/-)

Swami Vivekananda was a vitalising force that half a century ago swept not only India but also the West. This voluminous selection paints his picture better than a formal biography could do. A biographical note, however, would have been useful. There is grouping into lectures, interviews, letters, poems etc., but it is not clear that these are in chronological order. In relatively few cases are the dates indicated, even by the context.

But the contents, while not completely consistent, are richly rewarding. Let us mention only a golden bead or two of the many that are strung on the thread of clear-sightedness, of warmth and vigour and devotion and impersonality that made up the man. His beautiful devotion to his Guru, coupled with his not unfounded fear of the arising of "one more sect in a world already teeming with sects." His acceptance of human brotherhood. His insistence on belief in oneself; on each man's soul being his only teacher; "We are what our thoughts have made us." His pride in India's past. His recognition that India's theme, her key-note, is religion. His conviction that India's death would mean the extinction of spirituality and his belief in the power of her spirituality to make Devas of her conquerors. And with it all a wealth of practical suggestions for the aspirant to the spiritual life.

E. M. H.

NEW BOOKS AND OLD

SYNTHETIC AND DYNAMIC HUMANISM *

In his Introduction to this new volume of papers and lectures by Fellows of the Royal Society of Literature, Mr. Gordon Bottomley finds in them a common concern for all that is contained in the word "Humanism" as well as evidence that "Britain's steady courage through mounting danger was served by her cultural life having been maintained with determination." This is, perhaps, claiming rather much for a collection of cultured but not remarkably original essays. Certainly the light of learning and of culture shines steadfastly through them and so dark is the night of barbarism that almost engulfs us that even a little candle may throw far his beams, like "a good deed in a naughty world."

Only one of the contributors, Dr. Routh, however, explicitly defines the history, meaning and task of humanism. He speaks of it as "the study of man as revealed in men...the adjustment of what is changeful to what is permanent; in other words, culture's comment on civilization." The word "comment" betrays both the virtue and the limitation of humanism, which originated in a break with theology. The study of man developed in separation from the study of God. Medieval theology being what it was and man being what he was, this was inevitable, but it was none-the-less in the long view a tragedy. Eventually humanism itself split into two branches, that which came to be called the study of the Humanities, based on the Greek and Latin Classics, and what we now know as modern science. Dr. Routh recognises that "Science and literature have been rivals since the Renaissance and science is now winning the day." He deplores the fact. He regards science and literature as two long-lost brothers, brought together now by force of circumstances, but as yet only vaguely aware of their kinship. In the humanism of the future he sees them living together and collaborating, though he can produce little evidence as yet to show that they will. What he overlooks is that *they are each the split segments of a greater whole* and that *only in that greater whole can they be reunited and the knowledge towards power, which science seeks, be integrated in the search for enlightenment which is the true goal of literature.* He consoles himself with the thought that humanists need not be creative. But an uncreative culture can no longer justify itself. It must regain the redemptive power of divine wisdom or perish under the wheels of the modern Juggernaut.

I have left myself little space to comment on the other seven papers. Three of them are notable. Mr. Geoffrey Tillotson discriminates suggestively between the pure critic in Matthew Arnold and the interested advocate who set out to humanise the British middle class with something of the

* *Essays by Divers Hands: Being the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom.* New Series. Vol. XX. Edited by GORDON BOTTOMLEY. (Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, London. 8*s*. 6*d*.)

technique and the slogans of an expert salesman. Mr. de la Mare contributes a characteristically charming paper in which he shows how what the man of action considers to be a "quiet life," that of the reader and the writer, may in fact be an exceptionally concentrated order of living. Mr. Rostrevor Hamilton seeks for a criterion by which to distinguish verse from poetry and finds it in the quality of contemplation, bringing the whole soul of man into activity, which poetry possesses and verse lacks. He argues his case persuasively. In addition there are scholarly papers, on "Erasmus and His English Friends" by Mr. Cowell, on "Sacred Legends in Byzantine Art" by Dr. Beza, and a piece of personal reminiscence by Sir John Martin-Harvey on "The Player and His Art." Laurence Binyon's last poem, "Winter Sunrise," recalls at the beginning of the volume one in whom humanism flowered creatively, reaching back beyond the Græco-Roman classics to a more ancient and perennial fountain.

HUGH I'A. FAUSSET

TOWARDS TOTALITARIANISM *

"This second world war is the climax of an era of frustration," writes Prof. Harold J. Laski, and, like other sociologists and economists, he is fully aware that the forces of frustration, which will oppose the planners of a new society, may be even greater in the future than in the past. The reason for this is not that there is no specific but that there are too many, differing from each other in points of detail, much as religious sects differ about what they regard as essential points of dogma. Yet such remedies as Communism on the Russian model, Nazism and Fascism have one fundamental principle in common, namely, the discipline and regimentation of the whole population.

The realisation that lies at the back of this principle is a secular adaptation of the ethic that informs religion, namely, the need for unity, and since that can only be attained in a nation by a common danger—and even then imperfectly—it must be imposed by its leaders. For, whether in the conduct of a war or the building of a new society, there can be no success unless the people are of one mind. And we do not need the lesson of history, though it can be found there, to know that though our impersonal ambition may be the building of Utopia, we shall never find a whole-hearted response to that ideal in the minds of the people, ruled as they are by a characteristic inertia that resists the idea of any drastic change in their thought habits.

Professor Laski has long since made up his mind which of the three prescriptions for obtaining unity is likely to be the most successful, and in that, at least, we may agree with him. In the Russian model, he has found all the elements that are necessary for the making of an ideal society. He does not hesitate to find a parallel between the development of Leninism and the regenerative impulses of the early Christian communities, and can agree with Mr. T. S. Eliot, a disciple of what is, in effect, the fascism of the Catholic

* *Faith, Reason and Civilisation.* By HAROLD J. LASKI. (Victor Gollancz, Ltd., London. 6*s*.)

Church, that "the habits of the community" must be formulated, corrected and elevated by continuous thought and direction; for if "each man is to elaborate his own,...personality becomes a thing of alarming importance."

And up to a point there can be little doubt that Professor Laski is justified in the wish to establish something of the same order as the Soviet System——presumably, though he does not say so, throughout the whole world——in any case, for a beginning, throughout Europe. The general tendency of modern thought lies in that direction. The peoples of the Democracies have come to see, with a new clarity, the flagrant evils of an individualistic society under the rule of Capitalism. And since that must go, what better pattern need we seek than that of a nation which, after twenty-five years of training in the worship of the State, has so splendidly demonstrated the power that characterizes a united people? "Lenin was surely right," says Professor Laski, "when the end he sought for was to build his heaven upon earth and to write the precepts of its faith into the inner fabric of a universal humanity."

If that were all, yes. We may let our imaginations run forward and picture the perfect society of the future, when that "alarming" tendency to individual thought has been bred and trained out of us—or, when necessary, exterminated by new drastic measures—and when every worker of whatever degree has become the docile cell of an all-inclusive organism. It is the ideal of the hive or the formicary, with the aspirations and passions of every individual subdued to serving the purpose of the community as a whole. And when that static condition is achieved, when man is content to live his little life in service to the State, what next? It is no argument to reply that we cannot look so far ahead as that. If that is our ideal, we must consistently work towards it. If we assume that humanity is no more than a fortuitous by-product of blind evolution, then by all means let us plan to adapt society as perfectly as may be to its environment.

Even as in the old Testament parable the people combined to build up their tower from earth to heaven, so in this modern rendering shall we attempt to build a heaven upon earth. But having built it, we can only assume that mankind will ultimately perish, whether of inanition or at the coming of some superior race. For if the structure be of nothing but clay, it will at last return to dust.

J. D. BERESFORD

The Yoga of the Saints: Analysis of Spiritual Life. By V. H. DATE, with a Foreword by R. D. RANADE. (Popular Book Depot, Bombay 7. Rs. 6/-)

Dr. Date's thesis is that "the spiritual life is an organic growth, which has its roots in the reactions of the sensuous life and its fruit in the realization of God." In the main he bases his conclusions on the experiences and utterances of the great Maharashtra Saints, Ramdas, Tukaram and Jnaneshwar, but there are also apt and inspiring references to other mystics, notably to St. Paul. Dr. Date is an experienced teacher of European and Indian philosophy, but he generally wears his learning lightly and he has

given us a wise and useful handbook rather than a pedantic treatise.

Life is a curious knot; there are intertwining threads of experience that seem to cross and discomfit one another, and yet in the very contradictions and the knot must be found the rhythm and the harmony. Yoga seeks to see through the contradictions, to undo the knot, and to feel and respond to the rhythm, to invoke and experience the ultimate Felicity. The Saints and Mystics—our Ambassadors of the Absolute—have negotiated divers safe passages to the threshold of Reality. Although one person, with one unique set of predilections, may prefer one "path" to any other, he need not object to another's pursuing some other "path" should he find it easier; and all legitimate roads lead truly, sooner or later, to the sanctuary of Fulfilment.

Dr. Date conveys to the reader of his book much interesting and helpful information about the oft-trodden "paths" and he tries also to describe, as far as such phenomena can be described at all, the nature of spiritual experience and the personality of the "Ideal Saint." Above all, Dr. Date writes clearly and with becoming restraint and humility, and I have therefore no doubt that his book will quicken in the responsive reader a desire to explore on his own the infinitudes of the Spirit.

K. R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR

Myths and Ethics: Humanism and the World's Needs. Conway Memorial Lecture. By GILBERT MURRAY. Foreword by Prof. J. A. K. Thomson. (C. A. Watts and Co., London. 1s.)

Professor Murray's theme is that, despite the increasing horrors made commonplace by totalitarian war, man has an essential craving for goodness and truth, that shows in the swing towards idealism after every great conflict.

Religionists "explain" the fact by myths—that become strife-provoking dogmas but which are considered by the more enlightened as allegories. The Humanists attempt no explanation, but reverence this mystery of inherent truth and humanity. The lecture concludes with a plea for a common front between the sincere Humanist and the Religionist whose faith rests on ethics rather than on dogmas, so that the threat of civil war and disintegration may be more strongly opposed.

Reading this, one can understand why Mme. Blavatsky presented Theosophy straightforwardly as a philosophy, at once religious, scientific and practical. In this way it shows the truths from which the mythic religions spring. It points to the science of the inner side of nature and man, without which Humanism is merely "good feeling." It emphasises above all the fundamental brotherhood for which Professor Murray pleads.

The Theosophical Movement of the last century drew many of its best workers from those who called themselves "Free-thinkers," "Agnostics," "Rationalists." It is a hopeful symptom that Professor Murray rejects the first term as too vague, the second as negative, the third as too limited, and prefers to call "Humanists" all who accept as their paramount duty the welfare of Humanity, preferring sincerity of thought—even though it entail sacrifice—to the "psychological fleshpots of conformity."

W. E. W.

Literature and Authorship in New Zealand. By ALAN MULGAN. (P. E. N. Books, George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. 2*s.*)

Mr. Mulgan has made the best of a bad job. There is little authorship (and less literature) in New Zealand. The colony is only a hundred years old, and it takes more nearly a thousand years to produce a literature. Literature is a civilised activity, built up slowly, laboriously and cumulatively out of a tradition; whereas colonisation is, in this particular instance, a matter of depriving the Maoris of their own land, of "conquering" them and of relegating them to a subordinate rôle. No reasonable man would expect colonials to produce a literature; it would be much more feasible to expect it from the Maoris. An exile from the old European tradition in one of these tin-shack new worlds is in a position exactly opposite to that of exiles like Henry James and T. S. Eliot and the New Zealand-born Katherine Mansfield, all of whom left the tin shacks and the long, long trails a-winding to return to the old civilisation (evil as it might be).

But the sins of the Empire-building forefathers need not be visited on the children indefinitely; in America even a century ago Poe managed to write, against appalling odds, in the idiom of a civilised man, and in more recent years we have watched a literature almost visibly growing in that amorphous and terrifying continent. To the expert in colonies, new worlds and planned paradises, there may be little in common between New Zealand and America; but to the lay mind of one reader of Mr. Mulgan's little book they are much the same, and in the examples of Hemingway, Anderson, Faulkner, etc., Mr. Mulgan should see a hope for the honest New Zealand writer—who, after all, cannot be held responsible for the past.

J. P. HOGAN

Doctrine of Karma: A Study in Its Philosophy and Practice. By SWAMI ABHEDANANDA. Second Edition. (Swami Prajnananda, Ramakrishna Vedanta Math, Calcutta. Rs. 3/-)

Swami Abhedânanda's presentation is cogent, clear, convincing in the main. But there would seem to be a danger in his treatment of "Duty or Motive in Work." Duty as a motive may be inferior to love in the highest sense but most of us are far indeed from pure Divine and selfless love, for which all acts are worship of the Supreme. It is not safe to teach all men to look on duty as "the greatest bondage of their lives." For the average humanity duty persistently followed is still the royal road to bring them towards the goal.

One passage on pp. 40 and 41 seems more than reminiscent of a paragraph in Madame H. P. Blavatsky's *Secret Doctrine* (Vol. II, pp. 303-4) but she, we feel assured, would not stand upon credit in connection with the spread of a teaching so vitally important at any time and especially today. For she regarded Karma as the greatest of all laws and the belief that it is possible for a man to escape the consequences of his acts as the most fertile source of immorality and crime.

E. M. H.

A History of Gingee and Its Rulers. By C. S. SRINIVASACHARI. With a Foreword by Sir C. R. REDDY. (Annamalai University, Annamalainagar.)

Where once chargers pranced in military array, the bullocks drag the ploughshare, goaded by a half-naked farmer, and the spider weaves its web where rulers once sat in state.

Memories and traditions get overwhelmed in the lengthening web of Time, near-suffocated, and the patient historian has to clip the thin dark strands that the story of the past may live again. Gingee in its physical aspect is of little import. In its inward developing, however, it slips into the familiar Indian pattern, standing out, among a hundred others, as a cultural illustration. A chaos of mountains, stark save for thorn shrubs and structured over with immense citadels, battlemented granite walls, the sternest of its kind in India and in good preservation even today. Over this rock-face, a picturesque tip in the north-western corner of South Arcot, passed the feet of invaders, and passed again. And the Nayak civilization that gave Gingee its substance and its strength withstood the waves, its deeper life untouched, unaffected.

The Chola epoch (following indigenous tribal occupation) or perhaps the disruption of the Chola Empire at the advent of the Pandyas and Hoysalas in the thirteenth century, was the prelude. The masses of fortifications, tier upon tier, might have been started then, but were completed later. The true development of Gingee took shape during the rule of the Nayaks that followed, when Gingee was a vassal state in the splendid Empire of Vijayanagar. A point to note is that the Nayaks, orthodox Hindus though they were, shaped their social ideas after the liberal ideas of their imperial masters, and permitted full religious toleration. While they constructed and endowed a great many temples and took pains to promote Hindu culture, they welcomed Jesuit preachers and allowed them to build churches, even making financial grants for this purpose.

The Muslims came. The Empire of Vijayanagar was first torn to pieces, then annihilated. But the Hindus of the South retained the old ideals of life and a great heritage in religion, social life, literature, architecture.

Pathans, Mughals, Mahrattas, Muslims again. Finally the European Powers, clawing each other for colonial loot. Dramatic personalities crossed the scene once in a while: the Raja Dessing, living still in ballad and legend, like the heroes of Rajasthan; the famous French soldier Bussy; Hyder Ali.

The author of this volume is a well-known historian, with valuable work to his credit. He commands a vivid, attractive style. The volume is the second in the Annamalai University Historical Series. A hundred-page Index, even if a little too exhaustive, adds to the worth of the work. The ten photographic reproductions appended at the end, showing the Gingee fortifications as they now stand, are of interest.

The Foreword, contributed by Sir C. R. Reddy, brief and incisive, deserves to be read over and again.

BHABANI BHATTACHARYA

A Man Without a Mask: A Study of William Blake. By J. BRONOWSKI. (Secker & Warburg, London. 8*s*. 6*d*.)

Blake was so singular and profound a genius that he was considered by his contemporaries not a little mad. This, Mr. Bronowski contends, was a worthier judgment than that of others who have since called him sane. The men who thought him mad were wrong, but they were not silly. "There are states" wrote Blake himself "in which all Visionary Men are accounted Mad Men," and the society in which he lived was such a state. Men of vision or with the potentiality of vision were not only accounted mad. They went mad. And even those that didn't, even the strong-fibred Wordsworth, for example, feared they might and chose rather to sacrifice their genius than risk a loss of sanity. No wonder then, as Mr. Bronowski remarks, that they felt the strain in Blake, the man who was true to his genius from first to last despite all the repressive strain his times imposed upon it. No wonder, too, that in some respects such times contorted the expression of his genius and in the "Prophetic Books" forced on him an obscurity which devoted commentators during the last forty years have done their best to penetrate. Mr. Bronowski does not belittle their labour, nor that of those who have found Blake's mysticism more absorbing than they have found Blake. But he has set himself a different task, that of confronting Blake and his time and showing how powerfully it acted upon him and how consistently and defiantly he reacted towards it. His aim, he insists, is the understanding of Blake alone, but in fact a large portion of his book is a painstaking study of the miseries and iniquities of the Industrial Revolution. As an engraver Blake suffered in his person the poverty and alienation which descended upon every humble craftsman in the period when industry moved to the factory. And this was accentuated by the American war, the French Revolution and its Napoleonic sequel. Other poets of the time succumbed to disillusion and compromise. Blake alone stood out. He remained the inspired dissenter. But even he had to guard himself against the savage repression which met the threat of revolt against an inhuman political and social system. The obscurity of the "Prophetic Books" was caused primarily, Mr. Bronowski argues, by the need of concealment which the monstrous sedition laws forced upon him. Here as elsewhere, perhaps, he attributes too much to the external conditioning cause, too little to the intrinsic nature of Blake's mind. But he is certainly right in insisting that Blake did not merely live through the social events of his time.

> He lived them in his own personal life; and he lived them into his prophetic books....Until we know these, we shall not understand his thought, because we shall not speak his language.

His study supplies what has hitherto been lacking, at least in such intimate detail, in interpretations of Blake, the material context of his genius. The approach is from the social environment to the personal centre. It is weakest, as might be expected, at the visionary centre. That has been more intensely illuminated by others. But his study of the "Songs of Innocence and of Experience" is full of imaginative insight.

HUGH I'A. FAUSSET

ENDS AND SAYINGS

"_____ *ends of verse*
And sayings of philosophers."
HUDIBRAS

Many have vaguely and uncomfortably felt what William Hard expressed in the September *Reader's Digest:* "Are We on the Wrong Road Toward Peace?" The "Great Power" road, he declared, could never be the road to permanent peace. The world had "followed the 'realistic' Great Powers theory to a 'realism' of ruin." A twentieth-century Quadruple Alliance would go the way of that of the nineteenth, passing gradually from a closed "Peace Alliance" to "Spheres of Influence," to coercion within these areas and thence to the inevitable clash of interests, and war again. "Is there," he cried, "no better way for men on earth to live?"

He saw the way out in a shift of primary emphasis from the power of the great powers to a World Union of all nations. The International Labour Office, he pointed out, like the Western Hemispheric Pan-American Union Conferences, had achieved a friendly intermingling of nations small and great, weak and powerful, democratic and authoritarian, white, brown and black, "with no upper chamber of the few and mighty and no lower chamber of the many and weak."

Mr. Hard put forward as the strongest possible bulwark against war

> a World Union of all nations, in session at all times for consideration of all world problems, economic, financial, political, military...organised to take and express world views in world emergencies, and energized by daily duties of world service.

To whomsoever the credit belongs, the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, published 9th October, avoid the worst reef of world policing by the four Great Powers, responsible to no one but themselves. Permanent seats on the proposed Security Council of the United Nations are, to be sure, reserved for them and, later on, France, but these five are to be outnumbered by six other States, elected to the Council for two-year periods. Permanent representation carries undeniable advantages in moulding policy. If, however, an equal vote can be maintained for the elected members, and if there be no break in their succession, the hope is there that in important matters might may bow to right.

It is common knowledge that modern philosophical speculation, like modern science, has not been able to get out of the circle of ancient thought. A claim for ancient Indian antecedents for modern social theory also was put forward in a significant speech in a symposium on the "Cultural Heritage of India" held at the Government Law College, Bombay, in mid-September. Mr. Bhulabhai Desai on that occasion pronounced present-day socialism and communism but expanded versions of the Hindu joint-family system. Under the former in theory, as under the latter in practice, gross disparity of incomes is

avoided. If one brother earned more than another

> the joint family system saw to it that the income of the entire family was evenly distributed among all the members of the family. True, this entailed a sacrifice on the part of the member who was earning more than others but then without sacrifice socialism and communism are entirely impracticable ideals.

Mr. Desai traced most of the sufferings of the present day to the supersession of ideals by "the gospel of commercialism." Materialism was being discredited, he said, and he predicted that the day would come when the whole world would want to "drink deep of the inexhaustible wells of India's spiritual culture."

The Hon. Mr. Justice Divatia declared that Indian culture had expanded outwards from the soul. The principles of toleration and forbearance, live and let live, were prominent among its contributions.

Mr. Karl Khandalavala's account of the tangible glories of ancient Indian culture refuted effectively the charge made against our thinkers by Principal Kellock of Wilson College—that they tended to be "engrossed in thought rather than face the challenge of reality."

Principal Asaf Fyzee of the Government Law College concluded his address on an inspiring note :—

> The cultural unity of India is the most salient fact in the whole history of India.

The Goa Congress Committee has issued a devastating brief against the "Denationalisation of Goans" which is distributed by Padma Publications, Ltd., Bombay. Irrational pride in the fancied superiority of one's own culture is stultifying but mental self-abasement before an alien culture withers a people's roots. The domination of one people by another is objectionable primarily for its psychological effect upon the dominated. The natural implication of conquest is superiority of might but only in a world of topsyturvy values can greater might be taken as the sign and token of general superiority.

The Portuguese as colonisers have an unenviable record in the New World, no less than in the Old. Few colonisers have so blatantly used political authority as an instrument of conversion, and religion in its turn as an instrument of political exploitation. The methods by which they have imposed their faith, their language and their customs on the Goanese as set forth in this documented brief, do not make pleasant reading.

The language of the Goanese, Konkani, is a fugitive from its own land. There is, it is asserted, not one Konkani school in Goa. Fortunately, the love of the mother-tongue is not quite dead. The old books were burnt by the conquerors four centuries ago but, from beyond the borders of Goa, books and papers are today being published in Konkani.

That is a ray of hope for the revival among the Goanese of the just pride in their own antecedents that self-respect and cultural advance demand. Another is the reported return of the Goanese Catholic women to the saree. But the costume of the Catholic men of Goa, the woolen coat and trousers, the collar and the tie, so hopelessly unsuited to the climate, still symbolises meek submission to European customs and ideas.

For the real grievance against the Portuguese rulers, if this account be true, is that the effort to denationalise the Goanese has so largely succeeded.

They stand charged with having won at last, through cunning manipulation of history and careful adjustment of cultural blinkers, the people's acquiescence in their dependent and inferior status. Not unnaturally, in such a setting, undiscriminating imitation becomes the rule and spontaneity languishes.

Portuguese rule in Goa is the immediate accused but on many counts the colonial system generally stands beside it in the dock.

The controversy that has dragged on, week after week, in *The Malabar Herald* of Cochin has its lesson for the victims of prejudice in one faith who expect equality of status in another. The justifiable insistence of Indian Christians on equal rights in pew distribution in the Santa Cruz Cathedral has brought to light discrimination the more shocking for the vigour with which some have rallied to the defence of privilege. One contributor to the controversy urged in extenuation of the system that available pews had not been denied to Indian Christians who adopted European dress and ways of living! This defence, if based on facts, confirms Gandhiji's charge against Christian missions, that one of their effects is to denationalise converts.

Much could be said against pew rental as a source of ecclesiastical revenue, but if pews are to be rented the least that can be expected of Church authorities is complete impartiality in their distribution. If discrimination between Christian and Christian is not only to be practised but to be condoned by the Church, let it be openly avowed so that prospective *convertis de convenance* may at least make their choice with their eyes open.

India of today is not a Hindu India or Muslim India. It is essentially the whole India of the Hindus and the Muslims (and other minorities, of course). It is the India of Muslim democracy and Hindu philosophy. It is the India of Muslim art and Hindu science. It is the India of Hindu astrology and Muslim algebra. It is the India of Hindu translations of Muslim Koran and Muslim translation of Hindu Ramayana. It is the India of Hindu generals of Muslim rulers. It is the India of Muslim Dewan (minister) of Hindu Maharaja. It is the India of the Hindu blacksmiths and Muslim *zolas* (weavers), the Hindu *Beniya* (traders), and Muslim ryots. It is the India of Hindu professors of Muslim students—it is the India of Muslim mechanics of the Hindu workshop. It is the Hindu and Muslim engrafted—one and indivisible.

This is how Mr. Muhammad Ali Azam concludes his article in the June *Asia and the Americas* on Hindu-Muslim relations under the expressive title "My Brother's Face." The above quotation makes comment unnecessary. If, as the author recounts from his personal experience, each Hindu could see in the Muslim a brother's face and *vice versa*, the contribution of each to the history and civilisation of India would be recognised not as mere facts from history but as expressions of a co-operative venture in a life of harmony and mutual understanding. If we hear so much today about communal differences, the explanation has to be sought somewhere outside the thoughts of the common Hindu or Muslim. Petty considerations have sought to exploit the situation through false perversions and to poison unthinking minds with the virus of communal discord. The solution cannot come from without but has to spring from the hearts of men, in mutual recognition of fraternity.

Not without seeing in each other's faces the faces of brothers could the Hindus and the Muslims have lived together for nearly a thousand years. History in this case is no warning but an example.

Mr. Oliver C. Cox differentiates eruditely in *The Journal of Negro Education* (Spring Number 1944) between class, caste, and race and power divisions. Social stratification and differentiation by classes is less rigid than the caste groupings, founded upon occupation and often strictly endogamous. In the caste system, the caste as a unit is the bearer of status; in the class system, the individual or the family may more easily rise independently of other members of the group than the caste members can. In an inter-group power relationship as between British and Indians in this country or between Negroes and whites in South Africa, there is a definite cleavage along lines of race.

Divisions all, when what the whole world needs is to forget our differences and remember Man *qua* Man!

The criteria of social status are many. Mr. Cox names "wealth, education, health, family record, talent, and so on," not specifying individual character, which is the only defensible criterion. Where that is recognised, occupation as a status measure is out of court. As it has elsewhere been well put :—

> It is the man who determines the dignity of the occupation, not the occupation wh measures the dignity of the man.

The large part which co-operativ must play in any planned econon upon sound lines was stressed by M M. R. Masani in his Presidential Addre at the Sixth Bombay City Co-operati Conference a few months ago. In th address, recently published by the I dustrial Co-operatives Library, Aund the former Mayor of Bombay sees voluntary co-operation the means avoid the complete dominance of t State, as under both Fascism and Co munism. Planning and co-ordinatio there must be, but such planning, emphasises, must not be imposed fro above but come from the botto upwards. He sees co-operatives of pr ducers, whether craftsmen or farmer in a planned society, as the inherito of the great traditions of both th Indian village organisation for mutu aid and the mediæval European guil

A striking point is made by M Masani in his consideration of "Lif Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness as proper goals of National Plannin Planning for " Life, " he emphasise rules out planning for Death, *i. e.*, f war, into planning for which so muc of the energy of countries with planned economy has gone.

The closer the co-operative bon can be knit, drawing together men different castes and creeds, races an nations, in recognised mutual deper dence, the greater, surely, are th chances of enduring peace.